

# Index

- a posteriori* evidence 99  
Abu Ghraib 37  
activists 3, 14, 15  
Afro-Cuba religion 89–102  
agency  
    and voice 116–17  
Aguaruna 138  
Air Pollution Act 62  
Aird, Michael 34  
Alalis 35, 36  
All-India Ophthalmological Society 41  
alterity 90–1, 92, 93, 97  
Amazonian Achuars 22  
Amazonian people 123, 124  
    *see also* Mundurukú; Pirahã  
American Anthropological Association 48, 49  
American folk preachers 117  
Amritsar  
    Guru-la-Bagh incident (1922) 35–6, 36  
    massacre (1919) 18, 34–5, 35  
Anakalang (Sumba) 108  
ancestor spirits 108  
‘anecdotal’ evidence 12, 15, 61, 78, 125, 133  
animator  
    and author 116  
*Answer of the Sea, The* (film) 40  
‘anthropological advocacy’ 52  
anthropological holism 131, 132, 133  
anthropological research  
    romanticization of 132  
anthropologists  
    and culture 44, 48, 51–2  
    relationship with psychologists 123–4, 131, 141  
anthropology  
    and crisis of representation 7  
    intellectual divides within 2–3  
    and science/art debate 7, 10, 16, 102  
    tensions between particularist and comparative projects 107  
anti-racism 59  
antidepressants 4, 77, 78, 86  
archives  
    historical evidence in personal 60, 67–70  
Asad, Talal 110–11, 112  
ascription 6, 13–14, 135–47  
    evidence for the existence of incompatible representations 141–4  
    of ‘irrational’ beliefs 140–1  
    meaning 135  
    social variability and collective 137–8  
    of ‘structuring’ beliefs 139–40  
    theories of incompatible representations and their relation to 144–7  
    unreflective use of 136–7  
    ways of being misleading 137  
Ashley-Montagu, M. F. 142  
astrophysicists 136  
Astuti, Rita 4, 6, 13, 14, 135–47  
asylum cases 44, 47, 52–3  
Australia  
    Hindmarsh Island Bridge controversy 51–2  
Australians  
    ‘virgin birth’ among 141–2  
author  
    and animator 116  
    ‘autopicism’ 32  
Azande divination 27, 28  
  
Baktaman 106  
Balinese 146  
Ballard, Roger 52  
Barclay, J. R. *et al* 145  
Barrett, J. L. 143  
Barsalou, Lawrence 145  
Barth, Frederik 14, 106  
Bauman, Zygmunt 48  
behavioural ascription 137  
behavioural properties 135  
Behr, Louis B. 38  
belief(s) 14, 93, 101, 110–11, 114  
    ascription of ‘irrational’ 140–1  
    ascription of ‘structuring’ 139–40  
    false belief task 23, 24, 25, 29  
    manifestation of certainty through prism of 16  
    and practice 111–12  
    privileging of 111  
    strange 105–6, 110  
Benedict, Ruth  
    *Patterns of culture* 10

- Benjamin, Walter 38  
 Biggs, Captain 33  
 biological inheritance  
   and Vezo 142–3  
 biomedicine 77  
   adoption of evidence-based medicine 78  
   and medical anthropology 79–80, 82–3  
 Blandford, W. T. 32  
 Bloch, Maurice 3, 4, 12, 17–18, 21–9, 146,  
   146–7  
 Boas, Franz 1, 10, 48  
 Bororo 140, 141  
 Bose, Subhash Chandra 34  
 Boyer, Pascal 108–9, 110  
 Brettell, Caroline 8  
 Broca 21  
 Brown, Diane 62, 63, 64, 66  
 Browner, C. H. 79  
 Buddhism 107  
*bundling* 110  
 Butterworth, Brian 124, 125  
   *The mathematical brain* 129
- Calcutta *see* Kolkata  
 calotype 42  
 Canadian First Nation land case 46, 52  
 Carnie, Tony 61  
 Carrithers, Michael 10–11, 136  
 Catholic Charismatics 117  
 celestial bodies 136  
 certainty 4, 10, 12, 16–17, 18  
 Chari, Sharad 4, 14, 15, 58–71  
 Chevers, Norman 41, 42  
 China 128–31  
   importance of numbers 130–1  
   numeracy and language/culture 123, 128–30  
 Christianity 107, 112  
 circumcision, female  
   in France 50  
 citizenship 81  
   pharmaceutical 81  
 Clifford, James 10, 17  
   *Partial truths* 6–7  
 Clinicians for the Restoration of Autonomous  
   Practice (CRAP) 79  
 Cochrane Library 77  
 cognitive approach 129  
   and anthropology of religion 107–10  
   and ascription 4, 14, 136, 138, 145, 146, 147  
 cognitive psychology 23  
 collective ascription 4, 137–8, 147  
 Collingwood, R. G.  
   ‘Historical evidence’ 5  
 Committee on the Safety of Medicines (UK) 78  
 concepts, theories of 145  
 ‘conceptual analysis’ 16, 17, 102  
 conceptual categories 107  
 Conley, J. M. 47  
 context  
   role of in shaping behaviour 144  
   and text 115–16  
 Cook, Elisabeth 81, 82  
 courts of law 4, 12–13, 17, 44–54  
   admissibility of expert evidence 17, 45–7  
   asylum cases 44, 47, 52–3  
   and ‘cultural defense’ strategy 44, 48, 49,  
   50–1  
   cultural evidence in 4, 12–13, 51–3, 59  
   and legal pluralism 47–8  
   rights-based approaches 44, 48–50  
 Cowan, J. K. 49  
 creeds 117–18  
 crisis of representation 6, 7  
 critical ethnography 59  
 Cuba 4, 28, 89–102  
 cultural defense 44, 48, 49, 50–1  
 cultural essentialism 53  
 cultural evidence  
   in courts of law 4, 12–13, 44–54, 59  
 culture 138  
   and anthropologists 44, 48, 51–2  
   as capacity for innovation 108  
   and collective ascription 138  
   and language 126–7, 128  
   and numeracy among Pirahā 124–5, 128  
   and numeracy (in China 1123) 128–30  
   and religion 106–7  
   and rights 47, 48–9  
   and strange beliefs 105–6
- dactylography (fingerprinting) 33  
 daguerreotype 42  
 Das, Veena 7  
 Daston, Lorraine 17  
*Daubert* 45, 46  
 deceit 28, 29  
 Dehaene, Stephan  
   *The number sense* 129  
 Dembour, M.-B. 49  
 Department for International Development  
   (DFID) 8  
 depression 74–6, 78, 82, 83, 85–6  
 Diderot  
   *Lettre sur les aveuglers* 22  
 Dinka sacrifice 136  
 discourse, decentering of 115  
 discrimination 4, 14  
 disease  
   common-sense model of causation 85  
   division between illness and 84  
 divination 27–8, 95–7, 99–101  
 Dixon, Captain Henry  
   *Orissa, its temples and rock-cut caves* 33  
 Dobuans 136–7  
 double-blind trials 17  
 Douglas, Mary 140  
 Du Bois, John 113  
 Durban (South Africa) 4, 14, 15, 58–71  
   environmental activism 60–2  
   *see also* Wentworth  
 Dyer, General 34
- East India Company 33  
 EBM (evidence-based medicine) 4, 15–16, 77–9,  
   80  
   adoption of by biomedicine 78  
   changing of epistemologies of by EBMA 84–7  
   and Cochrane Library database 77  
   criticism and drawbacks of 78, 79, 84, 85  
   and disease/illness division 84  
   evidence-based medical anthropology as an  
   anthropology with 82–4  
   evidence-based medical anthropology as an  
   anthropology of 80–2

- exclusion of social dimensions of  
   disease/illness 84–5  
   and pharmaceutical citizenship 81  
   shifting relations of power 78  
   and SSRIs example 78  
 EBMA (evidence-based medical  
   anthropology) 80–7  
   as an anthropology of EBM 80–2  
   as an anthropology with EBM 82–4  
   changing of EBM epistemologies 84–7  
 Ecks, Stefan 4, 15–16, 74–87  
 educational psychologists 123, 131  
 'embedded' photojournalist 37  
 'eminence-based' medicine 15, 78, 84, 85  
 Engelke, Matthew 1–18, 107  
 entextualization 115, 116  
 environmental activism in Durban 60–2  
 'epistemological unconscious' 2  
 epistemology 2, 3, 18  
 ethics 83  
 ethnocentrism 92  
 ethnographic evidence 8, 89–92, 101  
 'ethnoscience' approach 137  
 European Medicines Agency 81  
 Evans-Pritchard, E. E. 10, 91, 100, 101  
 Everett, Daniel 13, 126, 128  
   *Current Anthropology* 126–7  
 Everett, Keren 126  
 evidence  
   defining 4–12  
   reasons for devoting more attention to 2–3, 7  
   reasons for underdeveloped language of 3  
   seen as epistemological and methodological  
     concern 2, 3  
 evidence-based medical anthropology *see* EBMA  
 evidence-based medicine *see* EBM  
 evolutionary psychologists 28  
 evolutionary theory 21, 26  
 experimental psychologists/psychology 3, 4, 13,  
   122–3, 125, 133  
 expert witnesses  
   and courts of law 17, 45–7  
 Eye Bank Association of India 41  
  
 facts 7  
 false belief task 23, 24, 25, 29  
 Farred, Grant 64  
 Federal Rules of Evidence 45  
 Ferard, J. E. 38  
 Ferguson, James 63  
 fieldwork 2, 83, 132, 135  
 film and censorship in India 38–41  
*Final Solution* (film) 40  
 Firth, Raymond 10–11  
*Folkes v. Chadd* (1782) 45  
 Fortune, Reo 137  
 Foucault, Michel 80  
 framing function 114  
 France  
   and female circumcision 50  
 Frazer, J. G. 140  
 Freeman, Derek 22  
 Freud, Sigmund 139  
 Friedman, Jonathan 12  
   *Cultural identity and global process* 5–6  
 Friends of the Earth 61  
 Frye test 45, 46  
  
 Fugard, Athol 70  
 Fynn, Henry Francis 67–8  
 Fynn, Jan 67–8, 70  
  
 Gabriel, S. 144  
 Gandhi, Dinoo 41  
 Gandhi, M. K. 38  
 Gardner, W. L. 144, 147  
 Gaumont Company 38  
 Geary, D. 128, 129, 131  
 Geertz, Clifford 10, 47, 48, 107  
 Gell, Alfred 122  
 Gellner, Ernest 93  
 Gelman, R. 122, 124, 125  
 Gibson, James 28  
 Glanvill 94  
 global anthropology 5–6  
 global systemic process 5–6  
 glossolalia 117  
 God  
   understanding of among US students 143  
 Goffman, Erving 116  
 Good, Anthony 3–4, 12, 17, 44–54, 123, 127  
 Good, Byron 80  
 Gordon, Peter 13, 124, 125, 126, 127–8  
 GPs  
   responses to depression in India 74–6, 85–7  
 Graham, William 116  
 grand theory 3, 12, 22  
 Grindlay, Capt. Robert Melville  
   *Scenery, costume and architecture* 32  
 Griqua 68  
 groundWork 61, 62  
 Gruzinski, Serge 37  
 Guha, Ranajit 36  
 Guru-la-Bagh incident  
   (Amritsar) (1922) 35–7, 36  
 Guy, Professor Jeff 68  
  
 Harris, Verne 67  
 Hastrup, Kirsten 2, 7, 8  
 'hearsay' rule 45  
 Henry, Frank 66  
 Herbert, Lord 111  
 Herceptin 81–2  
 Hindmarsh Island Bridge controversy 51–2  
 Hirschfeld, L. A. 138  
 historical evidence 5  
 Hittite 21  
 Holbraad, Martin 3, 4, 15, 16, 28, 89–102  
 Hooker  
   *Himalayan journals* 32  
 human rights activists 3  
 hyper-nominalism 98–9, 100  
  
 ideology, language 113, 117  
 illness/disease division 84  
 imipramine 77  
 incompatible representations  
   and everyday/ritual distinction 146–7  
   evidence for the existence of 141–4  
   and psychological models of semantic  
     memory 146  
   theories of and relation to ascription 144–7  
 indefinite evidence 93–5  
 India  
   film and censorship 38–41

- irrigation project in 8  
 photography in colonial *see* photography  
 research on medical responses to depression  
 in 4, 15, 74–6, 83, 85, 86
- Indo-European languages 21
- infant staring time 122, 128
- inferences 108, 136
- infinitions 97–100, 102
- infinitive evidence 95–101
- intellectualism 140
- intention 4, 17–18
- intuitive cognitive systems 136
- Ionesco, Eugene *The Colonel's Photograph* 31
- irrational beliefs ascription of 140–1
- Islam 107, 116
- Izard 22
- Jackson, Emma 41–2
- Jain, Kajri 31
- James, William 109
- Japan 131
- Jananoff, S. 46
- Jones, Gerard 69, 70
- Jones, T. E. 139–40
- Jorge 15, 16, 89–90, 91, 93–5, 96, 97, 99, 100–1, 102
- Joseph, Skido 65–6
- Joshi, Tanuja 41
- Journal of the Photographic Society of Bengal* 41
- Journal of the Photographic Society of Bombay* 33
- Kant, I. 21
- Kanwar, Rup 31
- Karim, W.-J. P. 143
- Keane, Webb 4, 11, 16, 59, 105–19
- Keesing, Roger 12
- Keil, F. C. 143
- Kelman, Mark 7
- kemali*' (tattooed object) 143
- kinship 4, 8, 22, 64, 126–7, 143
- Kitayama, Shinobu 144
- Knauft, Bruce 3
- Knight, Nicola 4, 6, 13, 14, 135–47
- Kok, Adam 68
- Kolkata (Calcutta)  
 GPs responses to depression in 4, 15, 74–6, 83, 85, 86
- Lakatos, Imre 16, 94, 95
- Lambert, Helen 79, 84
- Landers, Louise 68, 70
- language  
 association between truth and sight in 21–2  
 cultural determination of 126–7, 128  
 and numeracy amongst Pirahā 13, 124–5, 126, 128  
 and numeracy in China 123, 128–30  
 religious 112–17, 119  
 threat of deceit and lying 24, 25–6, 27, 28, 29  
 and truth 24–5
- language ideology 113, 117
- Las Casas, B. de  
*A short account of the destruction of the Indies* 32
- Latour, Bruno 84
- law *see* courts of law
- Leach, Edmund 6, 142
- Lee, A. Y. 144
- legal anthropology 4, 44–54
- legal pluralism 47–8
- legal positivism 49
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude 9, 139, 140
- Lévy-Bruhl, L. 140
- LexisNexis 50
- Lienhardt, R. G. 136
- life histories 14
- linguistic anthropologists 123, 127–8
- lithographs 18, 32–3, 34–5
- Lucknow Eye Bank 41
- Luther, Martin 118
- lying  
 and language 24, 25–6, 27, 28, 29
- Ma'Betisék 143
- McBride, Derrick 69–70
- MacCrimmon, M. T. 46
- Madagascar 142
- Malaviya, Pandit Mohan 36
- Malinowski, Bronislaw 1, 48, 83  
*Argonauts of the Western Pacific* 5
- Mandela, Nelson 61
- Maori 91
- Marcus, George 2
- Markus, Hazel 144
- Mashpee Indians 17, 53
- Masowe apostolics 116
- materiality of evidence within anthropology of  
 religion 4, 16, 105–19
- Matondkar, Urmila 40
- Mauss 91
- Mbeki, Thabo 65
- Mead, Margaret 22
- medical anthropology 4, 15  
 and biomedicine 79–80, 82–3  
 evidence-based *see* EBMA and explanatory  
 model 85  
 'medicalization' of 79–80
- Medical Research Council (US) 77
- Meggitt, M. J. 142
- Melanesians  
 'virgin birth' among 141–2
- Memmi, Albert 59
- Menchu, Rigoberta  
*testimonio* 1
- mental health 74  
 research on medical responses to depression in  
 India 74–6, 78, 82, 83, 85–6
- Merebank (Durban) 60, 61
- Merry, Sally 47
- meta-analysis 83, 85
- methodology 2, 3
- metonymy 12, 14
- microscopic 13, 122–3, 132, 133
- Miller, Daniel 59
- 'misreading' system 136
- Miura, I. 131
- Molineux 22
- Montaigne, M. de  
 'On cannibals' 105
- Moore, S. F. 47
- Morakhia, Shripal 40
- Mosse, David 8–9
- Mossi (of Burkina Faso) 22
- Muhammad 116
- Mullins, Rev. Joseph 33

- multiculturalism 49–50  
 Mundurukú 124, 125
- Naina* (film) 40–1, 42  
 National Association for the Blind 41  
 National Health Service (NHS) 81  
 National Institute for Health and Clinical  
 Excellence (NICE) 81–2  
 Navajo 138  
 Ndebele, Njabulo 70  
 neuropsychology 129  
 New Guinea Islanders 22  
 New York Police Department (NYPD) 40  
 Nicene creed 118  
 number needed to treat (NNT) 78  
 numeracy 13, 122–33  
   and language amongst Pirahã 13, 124–5, 126, 128  
   and language/culture in China 123, 128–30  
   and Taiwan experiment 132
- O'Barr, W. M. 47  
 Obeyesekere, Ganananth 1  
 O'Donnell, S. P. 38  
 'ontographic' 92  
 ontological divide 115, 117  
 Oviedo 32
- Pa Rangifuri 10–11  
 Pagden, A. 32  
 Parsons, Talcott 48  
 participant-observation 3, 46  
 particularist approach 138  
 Pascal, Blaise 112  
 patterns 9–12, 17  
 Patwardhan, Anand 31  
 Paul, St 21  
 Peek, Bobby 61, 62  
 Peirce, Charles Sanders 32, 33  
 Peltó, P. J. and Peltó, G. H. 137  
 pharmaceutical citizenship 81  
 philosophy 16, 102  
 Photographic Society of Bengal 33  
 photography (in India) 18, 22, 28, 31–42  
   Amritsar massacre images 18, 34–5, 35  
   attempt by colonial state to prevent images  
   being taken 37–8  
   and caption 38  
   decline in interest in 33–4  
   and Guru-la-Bagh incident (1922) 35–7, 36  
   history of British colonial engagement  
   with 31–8  
   indexicality of 32, 33, 42  
   perceived as a cure in colonial 31–2, 42  
   relationship with corporeality of eye 41  
   undermining of status as legal evidence 33  
   viewed as a curse 42  
 Pinney, Christopher 3, 4, 17, 18, 22, 28, 31–42  
 Pirahã 13, 124–5, 126–7, 128–9  
 Pitt-Rivers museum 105  
 Plato 98  
 pluralism, legal 47–8  
 political evidence  
   in post-Apartheid Durban 4, 58–71  
 Popper, Karl 46  
 positivism 9, 10, 11  
 postmodernism 2, 9  
 Powell, Colin 37
- President's Council on Bioethics 75  
 Price, Richard 7  
 primitive mentality, theory of 140  
 property ascription *see* ascription  
*pruebas* 89, 90, 91, 92–5, 96–7, 98, 99–100, 101–2,  
 102  
 psychiatrists  
   responses to depression in India 15, 74–6, 86  
 psychoanalysis 139, 140  
 psychologists/psychology 136  
   experimental 3, 4, 5, 13, 122–3, 125, 133  
   relationship with anthropologists 122–4, 131, 141
- qadi* courts (Morocco) 48  
 Quakerism 116  
 quality 4, 15–16  
 quantity 4, 15–16  
*Questions of Evidence: proof, practice, and  
 persuasion across the disciplines* 1  
 Qur'an 116
- R v. Jameel Akhtar* 52  
*R v. Turner* 47  
 racism 50, 58, 59–60, 71  
 Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. 48  
 randomized controlled trials (RCTs) 77, 78, 81  
 Rangachari, T. 40  
 recurrences 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 29  
 Reformation 118  
 Refugee Convention (1951) 52–3  
 relativists 91–2  
 religion 16, 105–19  
   anthropology of 4, 16, 107–12  
   Boyer's cognitive approach 107–9  
   'category' of 105, 107, 110–12  
   context and text 115–16  
   and creeds 117–18  
   and culture 106–7  
   defining 110–11  
   and language 112–17, 119  
   'local knowledge' model of 106, 107  
   and materiality 118–19  
   and problem of strange beliefs 105–6  
   universalizing definitions and criticism  
   of 108–9, 110–12  
   voice and agency 116–17  
 Renteln, A. D. 51  
*Report of the Indian Cinematograph Committee  
 (1927–28)* 38–9  
 'rights as culture' approach 47, 48–9  
 ritual 106, 113, 114–15, 146  
 Robbins, J. 22  
 Rosen, L. 48  
 Roth 142  
 Royal College of Psychiatrists 77
- Sahlins, Marshall 1, 48  
 Sakhuja, Navin 41  
 Santería 4, 16, 89–102  
*santeros* 89, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101  
 Sarkar, Sumit 34, 36  
 scale 4, 12–14  
 Scheper-Hughes, Nancy 87  
 Schneider 48  
 Schwandner-Sievers, S. 53  
*Science* 124  
 scriptures 115

- 'seeing is believing' 21  
 self-construal  
   among Westerners 144  
 semantic memory  
   psychological models 146  
 semiotics 4, 16–17, 109–10, 118, 119  
 Sharma, Rakesh 40  
 sight  
   link between truth and 3, 17, 21–9  
 Silverstein, Michael 115  
 Sinclair, Simon 79  
 Singh, Annie 41  
 Smith, M. G. 47  
 Smith, V. W. 35, 36  
 social evolutionists 1  
 South Africa, post-Apartheid 14, 58–71 *see also*  
   Durban  
 South Durban Community Environmental  
   Alliance (SDCEA) 61, 62  
 speech event 116  
 Spelke, E. 122  
 Spencer, Jonathan 8  
 Sperber, Dan 18, 108, 130, 151  
 spirit possession 117  
 SSRIs (selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors) 78,  
   86  
 Stafford, Charles 3, 4, 13, 122–33, 141  
 standards of judgement 2, 5  
 Starkey, P. 122  
 Stevens, Lenny 62–3, 64  
 Stoll, David 1  
 Strathern, Marilyn 16, 22  
 String Theory 110  
 structuralism 9, 139  
 Sumbanese 106, 108, 109–10, 114, 116, 117  
 supernatural 108, 110  
 Swedish Evangelicals 117  
 symbolism 140  
  
 Taiwan 132  
 Tarascan community 138  
 Taylor 22  
 text and context 115–16  
 Thalidomide 81  
 theory of mind 25, 26, 28, 29  
 Thucydides 21  
 Tikopia 10–11  
 tonality 130, 131  
 Toren, C. 138  
 travel literature 32  
 Trobrianders 142  
 truth  
   and evidence 6–8  
   and language 24–5  
   link between sight and 3, 17, 21–9  
 Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) 67,  
   70  
*tulah* (curse) 143  
 Tully River Blacks 142  
 Turner, T. 49–50  
  
 Turner, Victor 140  
 Tyler, Stephen 21  
  
 Uganda 138  
 unconscious 139  
*United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of  
 Refugees* (1951) 44  
 Universal Declaration of Human Rights 49  
 universalists 91  
 Urban, Greg 115  
 US students  
   understanding of God among 143  
  
 Van Broeck, J. 51  
 Varges, A. L. 35–8, 36, 38  
 Vayda, A. P. 137  
 Vezo  
   understandings of biological inheritance 142–3  
 Viberg, Å. 21–2  
 Victorians 106, 111  
 vignettes 12, 89  
 Vioxx 81  
 'virgin birth' 141–2  
 Virkar, Narayan Vinayak 18, 34–5  
 Viveiros de Castro, Eduardo 16, 97  
 voice  
   and agency 116–17  
 von den Steinen, K. 140  
  
 Wagner, Roy 16, 99  
 Walter, Richard 32  
 Warner, W. H. 41–2  
 Wentworth (Durban) 58–71  
   and environmental activism 60–2, 71  
   historical evidence in personal archives 60,  
   67–70  
   history 60  
   impact of refineries on health 61  
   meeting with Poverty Alleviation Programme  
   representative 62–3  
   moral debates and productivity of  
   professionalism 62–7  
 Wentworth Development Forum (WDF) 61, 62,  
   65  
 Westerners  
   self-construal among 144  
 White, G. F.  
   *Views in India* 32  
 White, Hylton 64, 69  
 Wilk, Richard 5, 12  
 Williams, Rushbrook 36, 37, 38  
 Wilson, D. 130  
 Wilson, R. A. 49  
 witchcraft 91, 94  
 WMD 37  
 World Health Organization (WHO) 75, 83  
  
 Zafimaniry 17, 23–5, 26, 27, 29  
 Zondi, Xolani 62, 63  
 Zulu 14